

1964

cafeteria employees, who know him as "Cobby." The touch was in evidence in the great piece he sent from the Pacific jungles on V-E Day which reminded celebrating Americans that the war was not over for young Yanks trying to dodge Japanese bombs and bullets.

His unfaltering romance with the Cleveland Indians and his unfading dislike for the Yankee ownership are topics with which he has entertained "Plain Dealing" readers since away back when.

His aversion for showboaters in any sport and for the phoniness of the wrestling profession certify a personal integrity that has made him the confidant of a host of admirers and friends.

On this newspaper, "Cobby" will be long remembered for a multiplicity of talents but mostly for his flawless prose, a commodity with which the profession of sports writing is not overly endowed.

A perfectionist, he likes to write about perfection. A pro, he speaks the language of pros. Of the great, he writes with the authority of being one of them.

Equitable Revision of Our Outmoded Immigration Policy Is Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the boasted basic standards by which we Americans claim to measure a man are his strength, his integrity of character, his conscientious industry, and his personal ambition. In theory his place of birth has nothing to do with the kind of person he may be.

However and unfortunately, our current immigration laws openly contradict this theory. Under present laws, it is, for instance, clearly intimated that the Italian people are about one-thirteenth as acceptable for prospective American citizenship as the English and that the Greek people are about 200 times less desirable for American admittance than the English. There is similar discrimination against many other nationalities under the present system.

Beyond the objective injustices projected under our current immigration regulations and restrictions I think it is very practical, in our own self-interest, to point out the adverse effect the antiquated national origins quota method has on the prestige of the United States abroad and the operation of successful foreign policy.

I earnestly feel that the great majority of our citizens desire to have our immigration laws brought more realistically into line with the traditional character and disposition of the American people in order to prove we truly mean the inspiring phrase we so often use—"All men are created equal."

Mr. Speaker, there is now pending before the Congress a bill, actually the first bill our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy sent to Congress, designed to remove the bias, the prejudice, the discrimination, and the injustices of our

present immigration laws. This bill is known as H.R. 7700 and I myself have introduced a bill that is practically identical to it, H.R. 8883.

These bills, and many others of like nature, would, fundamentally, along with other revisions and reforms, eliminate the present inequitable discriminatory overall quota system and set up a new method, with no great increase, of quota allocations without regard to national origins; they would insure that an individual with special talents that could be used here would not be faced with inordinate delay in admittance because of his birthplace and they would halt the existing hardships on separated families from Italy or Greece or other countries who must now most often experience agonizing postponements of family unity while large quotas for England and Ireland remain unused.

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope this Congress will not adjourn without taking action on these pending revisions in our immigration laws that will demonstrate, both to ourselves and the world, that we are really serious in desiring to eradicate discrimination based on race and national origin.

At this point I would like to include the testimony I recently presented to the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration in support of H.R. 7700, and my own bill, H.R. 8883, and any other bills that would achieve the equitable objective we commonly seek.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
PRESENTED BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION IN SUPPORT
OF H.R. 8883, H.R. 7700, AND SIMILAR BILLS

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, may I express the very deepest appreciation, on behalf of untold thousands of naturalized Americans, prospective American citizens, a great number of my colleagues and myself, to you for the conduct of these hearings on proposed legislation to revise our current immigration laws, which is one of the most vitally important legislative subjects that today challenges our moral conscience and legislative prudence. It is my most earnest hope that very promptly upon the conclusion of these hearings committee initiative will be exercised to expedite congressional action, before any adjournment takes place, on this pending legislation.

As one who has consistently advocated and supported continuing improvements in and expansion of our immigration laws throughout my service in the House I wish to thank you for this opportunity to submit testimony in favor of H.R. 7700 and, of course, my own bill, H.R. 8883, which is practically identical to it. Let me emphasize right now that a particular measure or author is not the important thing in this matter. Our chief concern is to urge your approval of whatever bill or vehicle you deem best designed to remove and correct the obvious injustices that have been too long projected by the outmoded provisions of our present immigration laws and regulations.

Even cursory examination of our present laws reveals their obviously unfair and unpopular discrimination against the majority of the nations of the world. This persistent discrimination has increasingly weakened our position and our overtures of world leadership and has unwittingly delivered into skillful anti-American hands an effective instrument for Communist propaganda against the United States as the proclaimed hope and asylum of the poor and persecuted, the tired and the homeless.

As a glaring example of discrimination a very heavy priority is given to immigrant applicants of the countries of Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany, yet there were more than 41,000 unused numbers in the last British quota. On the other hand countries like Israel, India, China and many others are permitted only 100 immigrants into the United States per year.

A brief review of the situation in other countries in southern and eastern Europe demonstrates similar and even greater discrimination. For example, Italy's yearly quota of 5,666 must by some supposed miraculous process attempt to cover well over 250,000 applicants. Greece has been granted a quota of 308 to process a backlog of over 100,000 qualified applicants. Poland is permitted only 6,488 persons per year to somehow be allocated among more than 60,000 annual applicants.

I feel certain that you and the great majority of Americans would judge this situation to be intolerable and it is, indeed, a matter which has seriously hurt the prestige of the United States, both at home and abroad.

Along with other deficiencies this outdated, outmoded, unjust and discriminatory quota system is the substantive evil the legislation before you is designed to correct and whose adoption will, I believe, effect such correction.

Briefly reviewing the provisions of my bill and the other measures before you we observe that their enactment would not result in any great increase in the total number of immigrants traditionally admitted to the United States; rather, the proposed legislation would eliminate, mostly over a period of 5 years, by pooling and redistribution, our present discriminatory system of national quotas and thereby alleviate the backlogs of those countries having the highest number of applicants.

Under the new quota system that would be achieved by this proposed legislation no country would be entitled to more than 10 percent of the entire annual allocation whereas under current law three nations are granted almost two-thirds of all quota numbers. Another provision would establish an immigration board to review naturalization policy and to recommend fair and just use of unallocated quota numbers.

Further than that, by the adoption of these legislative proposals before you, close relatives of American citizens and resident aliens who have been on waiting lists for a heartbreaking length of time and those who could contribute the most, because of special skills, to the progress of the United States, would be granted highest priority regardless of their place of birth. The adoption of this provision alone would save countless expenditures of Federal money, as well as the time and energy of Federal legislators and agencies in the processing of private bills for the relief of extreme and unusual hardship immigration cases that come before this committee by the thousands every year.

Mr. Chairman and committee members, none of us should forget that this great Nation was itself founded almost altogether by immigrants. Certainly in advancing our position of world leadership and inspiration in these perilous days we can speak more convincingly for freedom everywhere when we have done our legislative utmost to give real freedom, real sanctuary, real family unity, and real opportunity to qualified immigrants who wish to begin a new life in this country. Our national history reminds us that these are the kind of people in whose behalf the original American tradition of asylum was established and whose immigration to these shores has enriched our country from its earliest days right up to this very hour.

August 18

Mr. Chairman and committee members, in his immigration legislation recommendations to Congress our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy stated—"our investment in new citizens has always been a valuable source of our strength." With this sentiment and in his valiant spirit let us pursue this proven investment and I most earnestly hope that, in your wisdom and judgment, you will feel warranted in expediting your recommendation of congressional enactment of this legislation.

Why a Moratorium on Demonstrations?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following thoughtful article by Mr. Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 10, 1964.

Mr. Drummond rightfully argues that it is time for demonstrations on behalf of civil rights to stop, as the only purpose they now serve is to shield violence and crime. He applauds responsible Negro leaders like the Reverend Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and Philip Randolph, for their action to stop these demonstrations.

The article follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS: WHY A MORATORIUM ON DEMONSTRATIONS?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—After American Negro citizens have borne so much so long—lynchings, brutalities, massive indignity, and almost total denial of their rights of citizenship, it is not easy for the Negro leaders to say any to expect to be instantly heeded: "Be calm, be quiet, wait—and see."

After mass demonstrations have proved so useful in the past, it takes maturity and courage and wisdom on the part of the Negro leaders to sheathe the weapon and to ask their followers to do the same.

No wonder one dissident Negro activist shouts: "The only way we got this far is because of our demonstrations."

But this "stay-in-the-streets" plea is profoundly wrong and the principal Negro leaders are as prodoundly right in urging a moratorium on all "mass marches, mass picketing, and mass demonstrations" as when they called for mass demonstrations more than a year ago and utilized the famous "freedom march" in Washington so responsibly and so effectively.

They should stop because mass picketing and mass demonstrations are not helping the civil rights cause one whit and are hurting the civil rights cause seriously.

They should stop these mass demonstrations—however understandable, however useful in the past—because they are begetting violence (as in Harlem, Rochester, and Jersey City) and are becoming the shield for crime which can do nothing but alienate support which the cause of the civil rights enforcement crucially needs.

They should stop because the over-riding need today is to nourish law observance, including the observance of the new Civil Rights Act, which can never be nourished by law violation.

They should stop because they are bound to poison and distort the Presidential campaign and, from the standpoint of the civil rights leaders, contribute to bringing about what they least want.

The view of the Negro dissident activist is that, because the demonstrations "got us this far," they should continue.

The view of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Philip Randolph, and the other Negro leaders, who have devoted their whole lives to the cause of their race, is that, since the mass demonstrations have accomplished the central objective of putting the rights of Negro citizens into law, they should be abandoned until and unless the law is tried and found wanting.

I believe that the Martin Luther Kings, the Wilkinses and the Randolphys are profoundly right, because equal rights for all citizens is today the law of the land and that on the day President Johnson signed the act of Congress the Government of the United States took the issue out of the streets and put it into the courts.

The central need now is to give the new law the fullest, the most faithful and the most patient opportunity to be applied.

Civil disobedience is a proper and powerful instrument of mass protest to correct a grave injustice. No one used disobedience more effectively than Mahatma Gandhi, but where would India be today if he had continued to use it against his own government after it had succeeded in gaining his nation's independence from the British?

A very distinguished American Negro, who has long been in the midst of the fight for equal rights, former Ambassador Carl T. Rowan, now director of the U.S. Information Agency, did not put it too candidly when he said recently:

"The hour has come when bold, uncompromising efforts must be made to free the civil rights movement from the taint of street rioters. . . . There is a crying, almost desperate, need for us to guard that movement jealously against inroads by those whose desire is to create chaos."

Equal rights, which is now imbedded in the law of the land, cannot be furthered—either in the North or in the South, either for Negro citizens or for white citizens—by civil wrongs.

The Attorney General and Of Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the antipoverty bill, this Congress has brought our society closer to the goal of equality. As part of this all important effort, the immigration law should be revised now. I have introduced H.R. 7740, which would do so. Our present immigration laws based on the 1920 census and the quota system are grossly inequitable and inconsistent with our fundamental principles. The Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, has stated the case for the passage of the administration's immigration bill, which I have cosponsored, in a letter to the New York Times published on August 14, 1964. The Attorney General points out that the present immigration system

"damages America in the eyes of the world . . . deprives us of able immigrants who contributions we need . . . inflicts needless personal cruelty on large numbers of American citizens and residents. And it does not work."

I strongly urge all my colleagues to read the following letter:

KENNEDY ASSAILS VISA BAN; ATTORNEY GENERAL ADVOCATES END TO NATIONAL ORIGINS SYSTEM

To the Editor: In a letter to the editor published August 10, William A. Turner deplores the pending administration bill to eliminate the national origins system from our immigration laws. Mr. Turner says he believes the present system is satisfactory and that in 36 years as a Foreign Service officer of the State Department he has never heard foreigners criticize the national origins provision of our immigration laws.

It is my firm conviction that this national origins system causes our Nation great harm both at home and abroad, and that it should be eradicated from our law.

This national origins system was conceived in a spirit of mistrust of certain racial groups, in southern and eastern Europe and elsewhere. Its original stated purpose was bald discrimination—to preserve what was believed to be the racial and ethnic composition of our population in 1924.

This system is a blot on our relations with other countries. It violates our basic national philosophy because it judges individuals not on their worth, but solely on their place of birth—or even where their ancestors happen to be born. I know from my own experiences abroad how deeply this system hurts us. I have been asked how a country which professes that all men are equal could permit a system which treated immigrants so unequally. It is a difficult criticism to answer.

UNFILLED NEEDS

This system fails to fulfill our own needs at home. An unskilled laborer from a northern European country can come here without delay or difficulty. But a particularly well-qualified scientist, or engineer—or chef—from one of a number of other countries experiences great difficulty and long delay. Thus there are no visas now available for a Korean radiation expert, a Japanese microbiologist, a Greek chemist, a skilled teacher of the deaf from the Philippines—and many others like them. Yet all want to come here, all are needed, and all are wanted. The time has come for us to insist that the quota system be replaced by the merit system.

This system inflicts cruel and unnecessary hardship on the families of many American citizens and resident aliens. Again and again they are deprived of the chance to bring brothers and sisters or other close relatives to this country because quotas in their native countries are oversubscribed. The national origins quota system makes it easier for a man to bring a maid to this country than to bring his mother; a system which can so distort human values must be revised.

Finally—and ironically—the national origins system does not even achieve its own purposes. It assigns an overwhelming number of quota visas to the countries of northern and western Europe—which do not use them all. For example, out of about 83,000 numbers assigned annually to the British Isles, only about 32,000 visas are used.

The 51,000 unused numbers cannot be re-assigned; they are lost. Meanwhile, the quotas of many other countries are oversubscribed with the names of thousands of eligible immigrants eager to come to this country. Thus the ratio of immigration

sought by the national origins system is not maintained, nor can it be.

SPECIAL LAWS

Further, the pressures which result from this system have forced Congress to enact special laws from time to time in recent years authorizing visas for people waiting in oversubscribed countries. The result is a further departure from the ratio which the national origins system was designed to continue.

This system damages America in the eyes of the world. It deprives us of able immigrants whose contributions we need. It inflicts needless personal cruelty on large numbers of American citizens and residents. And it doesn't work. Certainly, no plainer or more compelling arguments could be made for changing this system.

The administration's pending immigration bill seeks to change that system and establish a system that works in the national interest. It would increase the amount of authorized immigration by only a fraction—from 157,000 to 165,000. But it would, at the same time, gradually eliminate the present system and provide us with the flexibility necessary to deal with problems of fairness and of foreign policy.

Both major parties and four successive Presidents have urged a revision of the immigration laws. President Kennedy recommended this legislation to Congress and President Johnson has firmly endorsed it. Every American should support the change.

ROBERT KENNEDY,
Attorney General.

WASHINGTON, August 11, 1964.

Housing Act of 1964

SPEECH OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12175) to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities, and for other purposes.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, because the evidence and expert testimony clearly show that slum clearance, urban renewal, housing for the elderly, low-cost public housing and similar programs are still urgently needed in almost every section of this country, I consider it a legislative obligation to urge support and prompt enactment of this bill, H.R. 12175, designed to extend and amend the present laws relating to housing, urban renewal, community facilities and other purposes.

The distinguished chairman of the House subcommittee and his associate members have worked long and hard to bring a reasonable omnibus housing bill before this House and, with noticeable bipartisan effort, I think it is apparent their common patriotic objective has been achieved in this measure. Admittedly many of the provisions are complex but the distinguished subcommittee chairman has patiently and exhaustively attempted to explain them all to this body. There is probably no greater challenge to any of our committees than the

subject of housing and we are fortunate indeed to have the benefit of such a knowledgeable and conscientious committee chairman with a most diligent committee membership.

As an example of their conscientiousness and diligence they have made an heroic effort in this measure to provide, against past criticism, that in no instance should people be uprooted by urban renewal or any other governmental program unless such action was approved at the local level and unless adequate provision was made for the rehousing of the affected people in good, sanitary and wholesome accommodations of either a public or private nature. One of the most practical provisions of this measure is that authorizing a program for some 3 years of graduate training of city planners. The record of past disappointments in what appeared to be promising housing or renewal programs emphasizes the need for advance planning based on realistic knowledge and awareness of the technical and human relations problems likely to be encountered.

Most of the funds recommended in this measure would provide for urban renewal grants and an addition of some 35,000 units of public housing.

Other noteworthy features include funds for direct housing loans for the elderly and appropriations to begin an imperatively needed program of low-rent housing for migrant workers.

A further and most wholesome provision is designed to initiate a program of low-interest loans for improving already renewed areas.

Another most important innovation in this measure is that which emphasizes the role of code enforcement in urban renewal objectives. This provision is designed to place more responsibility on local authorities so that after a period of 3 years they cannot qualify for any further urban renewal assistance unless they have an adequate code enforcement impact at the local level. It seems clear that had this idea been carried out over the past years we very likely would not have such widespread slum and blight areas presently and unfortunately existing in so many cities throughout this great country.

Also within the provisions of this measure a single low-income person would be made eligible for public housing and individual handicapped persons would be given eligibility for the purchase or rental of FHA housing for low or moderate income families.

Mr. Chairman, the record shows that in general, the program has been well administered and it has been exceptionally free from misuse of funds or authority.

Mr. Chairman, this housing bill is certainly a relatively modest one. It surely seems essential for the continuation of programs that are vital to our efforts and our obligations to encourage better housing in better surroundings for all of our people. Because it is clearly in accord with our national traditions, because it is designed to prudently meet a foundation national need and because it is obviously intended to promote the

health, the safety, and the happiness of all our citizens, I urge that it be promptly enacted.

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Dodd, Smathers, Hickenlooper, Aiken, Car-
son, Williams of Delaware, and Mundt.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson,
Ervin, Humphrey, Gruening, Muskie, Pell,
Ribicoff, Brewster, Salinger, Mundt, Curtis,
Javits, Miller, and Pearson.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Jackson (chairman), Anderson,
Bible, Church, Gruening, Moss, Burdick,
Hayden, McGovern, Nelson, Walters, Kuchel,
Allott, Jordan of Idaho, Simpson, Mechem,
and Dominick.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Eastland (chairman), Johnston,
McClellan, Ervin, Dodd, Hart, Long of Mis-
souri, Kennedy, Bayh, Burdick, Dirksen,
Hruska, Keating, Fong, and Scott.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), McNamara, Morse,
Yarborough, Clark, Randolph, Williams of
New Jersey, Pell, Kennedy, Metcalf, Gold-
water, Javits, Prouty, Tower, and Jordan of
Idaho.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston (chairman), Monroney,
Yarborough, Randolph, McGee, Brewster,
Carlson, Fong, and Boggs.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. McNamara (chairman), Randolph,
Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Moss,
Metcalf, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye,
Bayh, Nelson, Salinger, Cooper, Fong, Boggs,
Miller, and Pearson.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chair-
man), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of
West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel
Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,
Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852
Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut
Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037
Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade
Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hamp-
shire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Goldberg, of Illinois, 2811 Albe-
marle St.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823
Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr.
Chief Justice Warren. *District of Columbia.*
First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Goldberg.
Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire,
Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.
Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan.
Connecticut, New York, Vermont.
Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan.
Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin
Islands.
Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice
Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South
Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.
Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black.
Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia,
Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.
Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart.
Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.
Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.
Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.
Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White.
Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Ne-
braska, North Dakota, South Dakota.
Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas.
Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana,
Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.
Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White.
Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma,
Utah, Wyoming.